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L E T T E R

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

CHARLES JENKINSON.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. DEBRET (Successor to Mr. ALMON) opposite
Burlington House, in Piccadilly. 1781.

26 Nov. 1781

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Printed by J. DERRITT (Successor to Mr. A. W. Jones) of the
Printers, 10, St. Martin's Lane, W.C. 2.

A
L E T T E R
T O T H E
Right Hon. CHARLES JENKINSON.

S I R,

THE sphere in which you move, and the part which you take, in the government of this country, render any apology for this address totally unnecessary. The surprise, if it occasions any, should not be at the thing itself, but that public addresses to you have not been made before, and often. Men of less importance in the state, have been brought before the tribunal of the public, their conduct has been examined with freedom, and censured with spirit, for measures over which they have had less influence than you have over our public councils. How you have escaped, I shall not at present give myself much trouble to explain; though, were I to indulge in that theme, I should ascribe it to your early knowledge of the management of the press.

If I mistake not, you were esteemed an useful typographical *commis* at the Oxfordshire election, in the year 1754; when you inked your virgin pen in support of the Whig interest. A dinner at the late Lord Harcourt's second table, was not unusual. And when his Lordship and his friends had dined, you were sometimes called in; and from the conversation of the company, and being a young man of pliable notions, you received, with a never-failing bending acquiescence, those hints which you afterwards worked up for the press.

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Early

Early habits are not soon worn off; the *Cacoethes Scribendi* laid the foundation of your present opulence. I believe, Sir, that you are the first writer who can boast of such ample rewards! Mr. Addison, with his evidences *for*, and Mr. Gibbon with his evidences *against*, the Christian religion, met with none such. And Mr. Burke, whose genius, judgment, and knowledge, all descriptions of men will allow, yield to none of the present age, compared to you, has been but a bungler in worldly pursuits. He has written for general use—you for your own. The *temporary* object, and not the *principle* of the thing, always directed your attention, and guided your pen. Accordingly, in a short period after the Oxfordshire election, we saw you supporting, I mean with your pen, the Whig Administration of the late Duke of Newcastle.

When the Great Minister of that day, ordered those Dutch trading vessels to be taken, which were carrying assistance to the enemy, you wrote a pamphlet, entitled, *A Discourse on the Conduct of the Government of Great Britain in respect to Neutral Nations*;* approving to the extent, and defending to the utmost, those captures. Lord Harcourt, finding you “on all occasions apt,” but knowing that Mr. Pitt trusted as little to the press for the applause due to his conduct, as he did to parliament for the approbation of it; his Lordship took you to his friend, the late Mr. Grenville, then Treasurer of the Navy; to whom he kindly and cordially recommended you, as deserving of something, for writing the pamphlet; and who might, in that line, (for Lord Harcourt never meant more) be useful to government. Mr. Grenville, at his Lordship’s request, mentioned the matter to the Duke of Newcastle. The old Whig had a great deal of the milk of human kindness in his nature; but there being at that time no little *sine cure* vacant, he gave you a pension of two hundred pounds per annum; which, I am informed, you still continue to receive.

From

* This pamphlet has been lately reprinted, together with the several treatises to which it refers, by J. Debrett, in Piccadilly.

From this sketch of your juvenile performances, I wish to make a short digression, respecting the present day. Having been accustomed to see my country in the zenith of glory, under the guidance of that Great Minister whose magnanimity you industriously vindicated in the above-mentioned pamphlet, I lament, in tears, her fallen condition; under a *new* system of *secret* and *unresponsible influence*: Nor is it with any abatement of the same sorrow, that I likewise lament, that you did not take with you into power, the *principle* and *opinions* of that great minister, with regard to Holland; the very point on which you had defended him. The councils of his present Majesty, having by a barbarous wantonness, added the enmity of nation to nation against us, the accumulation of Holland (to speak of it in the mildest terms) was impolitic, unnecessary, and unnatural. Mr. Pitt seized the Dutch merchantmen, it is true, but he did not go to war with the State. He was too great a politician, not to know the *error*, or as he would have called it, the *insanity* of such a war. His administration was stained by no *puerile* passions.

Upon your introduction into the Secretary's office, under Lord Holderneffe, no matter whether by the solicitation of your mother, or any other solicitation, is not material; we do not find by the red book, that his Lordship esteemed your abilities equal to those of an ordinary clerk, on the establishment; for we saw you in the office, only as a *supernumerary*. It does not appear that you had the least connection with Mr. Pitt's office. That great man was rarely deceived in his subalterns; he chose for himself. But when Lord Bute succeeded Lord Holderneffe, we saw you taken *into confidence*; and when his Lordship stepped into the Treasury, he took you in his hand. It was said at the time, that Mr. Samuel Martin and yourself (both under the greatest obligations to the Duke of Newcastle and the Whigs) were his Lordship's *miners*, in that memorable

memorable explosion of the Whig interest, which began with the dismissal of Mr. Legge.

Your adroitness in rescuing Lord Bute from the distress and difficulties into which his own indiscretion and precipitate promises to the city of London had plunged him, in the affair of the excise upon cyder, gained you the interest and confidence of the closet. We know the press was managed at that time; but it was not till afterwards, that your interviews with the late Sir James Hodges, upon the business, were known; nor that you had, by Lord Bute's specific direction, entered into a negotiation with Sir James, after one had failed which had been attempted by the late Sir John Philips.

It is not worth while to illustrate your rise and influence by any more facts. One sentence is sufficient for all the rest, which is, though Lord Bute has retired, you are, in the city phrase, his *locum tenens*. You are the favourite of the present day, "that fokes up the King's countenance, his rewards, his authorities; but such officers do the King best service in the end; he keeps them like an apple in the corner of his jaw; first mouthed to be last swallowed; when he needs what you have gleaned, it is but squeezing you, and, sponge, you shall be dry again."

The confidence you now enjoy of your sovereign, and the possession you hold of his ear, make it highly necessary, and it is no less constitutional, that you should be known to your country. It is for this reason that I have done myself the honour of addressing this public letter to you. Though not a first rate minister by your office, yet more than either Walpole or Pitt in the closet. I mean the interior closet. They were ministers in the official closet. In the present reign there has been another closet added: one is the closet of secrecy, the other of responsibility.

The Earl of Mansfield's distinction, in the House of Lords, gave us the purest and truest idea of the *situation*, and *division* of the members

bers of both closets. One his Lordship denominated the *Efficient* Council, the other, the *Official* Council. Whatever might have been our suspicions before that time, and we were not without suspicions, yet we had neither the authority, nor ability, to ascertain the distinction so *precisely* and *happily* as his Lordship.

It is a public loss that the noble Earl, when he so concisely and exactly pointed the distinction in the royal councils, that he did not, at the same time, name, as well as describe the parties.

His Lordship could have told us, whether the reports were true, — That the efficient council meet, in conclave, at a certain house in Stable Yard. — That the Falkland Island business was not communicated to the *official*, until the *efficient* (under the auspices of Mr. Stuart Mackenzie) had settled it. — That the late Lord Clive was condemned by the *official*, but saved by the *efficient*. — That Lord North's propositions in 1777, for peace with America, was settled by the *official*, but totally changed by the *efficient*. — That upon his next proposition in 1778, he threatened to resign if that was altered, therefore he was allowed to have the honour to bring *his own* propositions to parliament that year; but the *efficient men* altered it there, by throwing the whole measure into the hands of the Crown, and afterwards they changed Mr. Jackson, whom the official ministers had appointed one of the Commissioners, he being a more capable and proper person than any of those who went, and put in Mr. Governor Commodore Johnstone, who knew less of the business than Lord Carlisle. — That upon the delivery of the Rescript from the Court of Spain, his Majesty called his *official* ministers to a long table, in the Queen's Palace, and there delivered to them a long speech,* declaring his resolution to carry on the war against America, France, and Spain; and they whispered to one another, *who has made all this for him?* thereby admitting, to the fullest extent, the fact of an *all-powerful* and *invisible* agency. — That

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* You are said to have been the writer of this most singular literary curiosity. It was too precious a morsel to be trusted with the Infidel of the Board of Trade.

an attempt was made, a few days before the delivery of the Rescript, to open a negotiation for a peace with America, upon terms which, at least for the purpose of *beginning*, had the approbation of some of the *official* ministers, but were decided against by the *efficient* council.

I could proceed until I had tired the reader, in stating (though briefly) the many other reports of pretended facts, of the like *extraordinary complexion*; in all which, the noble Earl could, with his happy facility and precision, have marked the distinction of truth and falsehood. The future historian, (for a third historian may arise if Dr. Robertson and Mr. Gibbon should die) would have given to his memory, the sweet incense of gratitude; for who, like him, can

— make the worse appear
The better reason.

The official ministers are always known. They are always to be found in the red book of every year. But the efficient counsellors are not so well known. The only reason I have heard given for this secrecy is, the extreme nicety and importance of their stations; both of which it is said are beyond the conception of vulgar understanding. Sometimes we think we can guess at them pretty exactly, but upon some occasions even the official ministers have their doubts. Like Jupiter's satellites, or the Mogul's nabobs, they frequently eclipse each other.

However, among the foremost of this efficient group, we have the satisfaction of being certain, you are never omitted;—except during your amorous dalliance after Miss A. It was no doubt ludicrous to see a tall thin old man of 54, over head and ears in love with a girl of 18. But you were soon brought back to your duty, by the sage advice, and grave deportment of your brother, “the able and impartial Speaker;” who “lacking advancement,” and knowing your all-powerful influence in the interior closet, lost no time in reclaiming the truant boy. He judged right; for in the next Parliament, you made him Speaker.

It is, Sir, in your present situation as foremost, or deputy to the foremost of the efficient council, that I have the honour to address myself

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to you. Whether such a situation is strictly constitutional, the learned Doctors in his Majesty's service, may explain and expound as they please; or what is more probable, according to their interest; but I, who was early taught in the old Whig school, the common law, and the old Constitution, can see no legality, can discover no constitutional authority, whereon is grounded this *arcanum imperii*, this state of privacy behind a privy council.

The parliament are the constitutional advisers of the King; by them the King acts with the concurrence and support of the people; but because parliament cannot be always convened, nor be always kept sitting, the King is allowed to chose himself a private council (*id est*, the privy council); but these private counsellors, being instruments of delegation, are answerable to parliament for the advice they give from time to time, to the King.*

The ministers of the present reign, who, with very few exceptions, have been uniform Tories, admit, by their conduct, the force and justice of this Whig principle. But by a new and cunning inversion of things, they make parliament the executive power in the first instance; and then take their intended measures, under the authority of an act of parliament.

Whatever measures are resolved upon by the efficient council, with respect to America, Asia, &c. the official ministers begin the work with
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* Formerly all matters of state and discretion were debated and resolved in the privy council. Charles the Second was the first who broke this excellent part of our constitution, by settling a CABAL where all matters of consequence were debated and resolved, and then brought to the privy council to be confirmed. The first footsteps we have of this council in any European government were in Charles the Ninth's time in France, when resolving to massacre the Protestants, he durst not trust his council with it, but chose a few men whom he called his cabinet council; and considering what a genealogy it had, it is no wonder it has been so fatal both to King and people. For whatever miscarriages there are, nobody can be punished for them, for they justify themselves by a sign manual, or perhaps a private direction from the King."

Mr. Trenchard's Preface to the History of Standing Armies.

an act of parliament. Instead of advising measures, in the first instance, they act under an act of parliament. They send fleets and armies, to enforce an act of parliament.

The Stuart Kings attempted to govern without a parliament; but the Whigs of those days complained of the innovation, and corrected the abuse. In our time, the principle is reversed. It is determined to punish the Whigs every way; therefore so far from having too little of parliament, you have resolved we shall have too much. Parliament are not only the makers, but the executors of the law; and the ministers are simply no more, than the sheriffs in the business, giving orders to their officers and constables.

The measure which squanders millions of pounds, and sacrifices thousands of lives, secretly originates in an efficient council. It is next, by some deputed member, or by a higher authority, communicated to the official ministers. They are obliged to adopt it, for that is the tenure by which they hold their offices. But then these official ministers, to evade the constitutional responsibility of their situations, move in parliament for leave to bring in a bill; and, by a happy influence over parliament, the bill is passed. The ministers thus consider themselves justified in their conduct, having the authority of parliament on their side; for an act of parliament thus obtained, operates to them, as an act of indemnity.

To this new principle and new practice in our politics, we must ascribe all our misfortunes. Ministers durst not have proceeded with such alacrity in the execution of measures, (which are supposed to have originated with persons, in no responsible offices) if those measures had not first been authorized by an act of parliament. They would not have begun a war with America (though the resolution for war had been taken by the efficient council long before the action at Lexington) without first having "the law on their side." Nor have afterwards given up the *pretended* cause of dispute, without again
having

ing "the law on their side." The enemy need not be at the expence of spies, for they may always know what measures are intended by the bills which are passing. Facts and dates will state this matter better than a thousand arguments.

In the month of December, 1777, Lord North twice mentioned in the House of Commons the wishes of the King's servants to "conciliate" with America. On the 11th of February, 1778, he promised to bring in his plan of conciliation in a few days. On the 17th, he brought in his two bills, for appointing Commissioners, and removing doubts. They received the royal assent on the 11th of March.—On the 6th of February, 1778, the treaty between France and America was signed at Paris. And on the 23d of March, 1778, the same Lord North brought a message from his Majesty, informing the House of the French treaty. A treaty which effectually defeated, in every shape, all the promised good effects of the two bills, passed but a few days before. But the mischief does not end here. The Dutch war, takes its rise from the same caution in the minister, not stirring, until he has an act of parliament on his side. It appears from De Neufville's letter to Dr. Franklin (which letter was not laid before parliament, though it ought to have been, however it is to be found in the *Remembrancer*, together with many more valuable papers) dated in July, 1779, that De Neufville had his interview a twelvemonth before, with Mr. William Lee, at Aix-la-Chapelle, upon the eventual treaty, between Holland and America. Lee must have had his instructions from the Congress. The time between the *bringing in* the bills, and this interview, is fully sufficient for a voyage from Europe to America, and back. From these premises, it is a fair and just conclusion, that Holland, as well as France, *seeing the possibility of a re-union between Great Britain and America*, agreed to the proposals of the American ministers.

The sanguinary act of hiring foreign troops, produced the declaration of Independence; together with the first applications from Ame-

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rica for assistance to the Courts in Europe. The conciliatory bills as they were falsely called, produced a triple war, with France, Spain, and Holland.

If these dates and facts are indisputable, and I believe they are, the inference to be drawn from them need not be suggested. Every man will reason for himself, and whether he chuses to confess it, or not, he must in his own private judgment condemn the *efficient* council, and the *official* ministers. There is not an epithet of reproach in the language fit for one man to use to another, which they have not deserved by superlative ignorance in affecting to plan, and by treacherous impotence in assuming to execute.

I remember to have heard (and I am within the memory of many gentlemen, who heard you as well as myself) you say in parliament, that the stamp act did not originate with Mr. Grenville; it was recommended to him, and he adopted it.—It was candid to do justice to his memory. Whatever his mistakes might be, and every man has made some mistakes, he certainly meant well to this country. But your candid acknowledgment admits, by implication, that the efficient council existed in his time; and if I remember right, Mr. Scott, in his letters signed Anti-Sejanus, positively asserted, that the influence of the Earl of Bute, though himself out of all office, was yet as full, and absolute, over every department of the state, as when he *openly* held the reins of Government.

This order of an efficient council, though instituted since the year 1761, does not seem to have been crudely designed, nor directed to any particular object. For if a judgment may be formed upon public facts, it may safely be affirmed, that this dark, unseen, unknown, and unresponsible council has been established, with a view to controul and manage the whole machine of government of this country and all her dependencies; to unite every thing in one central focus, and to make that focus the Crown. That it has been the uniform, settled

bled system of the cloſet (the only ſystem that has been ſettled and perſeuered in) ſince the acceſſion of the Earl of Bute.

There is another fact that is more to be lamented than all the reſt; that requires our contrition and ſorrow, more than any circumſtance in the hiſtory of theſe times. The *nominal* miniſter's answer to a private application from a ſmall number of the India Directors, (no doubt given precipitately and unwarily) contains the *true* cauſe of the unhappy war with America; and places it nearer to the cloſet, than any good ſubject wiſhed to have diſcovered it. It was pretended by the miniſtry, that the American tea duty was left ſtanding, when the duties on paint, glaſs, &c. were repealed; in order to give a bonus to the Eaſt India Company. The aſſertion was totally untrue. The tea ſent to Boſton was Bohea, which was no burden to the Company. It was the Singlo that was on hand, and in all the warehouses of the Company. Therefore the tea ſent to America, was not the *ſort* of tea to ſerve the Company. This was explained to the miniſtry. However the reſolution was carried in a private committee of *three* only. Mr. Bolton was chairman. Such a meaſure ought to have been agitated in a *full* committee, which is eleven. The matter was afterwards objected to at the miniſter's houſe, when his Lordſhip haſtily ſaid, *it was to no purpoſe making objections, for the ——— would have it ſo*; thoſe were his Lordſhip's words, and he added, *that the ——— meant to try the queſtion with America.*

The proceedings in one part of America, (and one part was ſufficient) were perfectly correſpondent. The tea was deſtroyed at Boſton. A few facts ſeem almoſt to warrant the aſſertion, that the whole purpoſe of the law was completely answered by the deſtruction of the tea. At other ports, the veſſels laden with tea, were ſent back. At Boſton they were not. The Governor (the tea was conſigned to his ſon) reſuſed to permit the veſſels to return, without a clearance. The Captains could not get a clearance from the Cuſtom-Houſe, becauſe un-
aſſiſted;

assisted, and unprotected, they could not land their cargoes. If the Governor had ordered the tea to be put into the barges of the men of war, then lying there, and each barge to have been armed with a few marines, the whole tea might have been safely lodged in the King's warehouses, under the escort of the marines; or the Governor might, if he had thought proper, have permitted the vessels to sail, without breaking bulk, as was done at the other ports in America. But he would neither assist the Captains to land the tea, nor suffer the ships to return, until they had, some way or other, got rid of their cargoes.

It is a pity we cannot do justice to the great abilities, which so ably contrived this whole measure. The constitution has not given us a channel to ascertain and identify the contrivers. The whole merit of it seems to belong to the *efficient* council—or—perhaps to yourself.

This refinement in our constitution, of making the law *precede* the provocation; and of creating, under the law, those transactions which are to be punished according to law; excels every artifice we read of in the reigns of the Stuarts. It was not provided against, at either the restoration, or revolution, because such a manœuvre was not thought of. The immaculate wisdom of an efficient council, struck out this new light.

It is the argument of lawyers, that in every state there must be a *dernier power* somewhere. The *efficient* council owes its institution to this doctrine. But it is a dangerous doctrine, for it makes the constitution warrant an *invisible* power; whereas our government is a *trust* from the people, and somebody must be *answerable* for the *exercise* of every part of it. There is a clause in the act of settlement, which directs, that every privy counsellor shall sign his name to the advice he gives his Sovereign. It is a misfortune, that this clause is not better observed. The framers of the act of settlement, judged, in the true spirit of the constitution, that all the functions of government being but so many *commissions of delegation*, the people for whose happiness

piners all government is instituted, have a right to know the *authors* and *advisers* of every measure, accepted, adopted, or taken by the crown; for as the crown can do nothing but by advice, the surest way of knowing the adviser, was to oblige him to sign his name to the advice he gave. *Hic murus abeneus esto.*

Sir Fletcher Norton, in one of his pleadings on the side of general warrants, in the Court of Common Pleas, having laid down this doctrine of a dernier power, Lord Chief Justice Pratt, now Lord Camden, with great energy and perspicuity, replied, that if he understood the constitutional idea of a dernier power, it belonged to cases of appeal: it was the *last* decision, no matter where, nor by whom. Questions of no kind could originate in a dernier power; they might end, but could not begin in one.

Admitting, for the novelty, that the efficient council could justify its institution, from the law-arguments, in support of a dernier power, and not to say any thing of the impeachment thereby made of the wisdom of parliament, and of the King's privy council, there would still a very formidable question arise, on the *extent* of the power claimed. It is possible, that a minister, like Lord Chatham, might not chuse to be dictated to; or, that like some others, he might accept of the dictation confined to certain limits: In any case, a resistance by the *official* council must occasion great confusion, and throw the whole machinery of the interior closet into a heap of ruins; which circumstance happened when Mr. Grenville went out in 1765. For this *efficient* council lives not by the authority of ministers, but by their acquiescence; and while ministers can be found, who will prostitute their names, their characters, and their talents, in this servile, second-rate degree, this *efficient* council will exist, and no longer.

Now let us view, for a moment only, to what danger does this innovation in our constitution lead. It assumes to pervade, not only all executive government, but all legislative and judicial authority; all

civil and military power, as well as regulation. It usurps a general, sweeping, arbitrary domination, from which no man is safe, no property exempt. No means of redress can be instituted against it, because it is cognizable no where. It is a Leviathan and a non-entity; an invisible hydra; a phoenix rising out of the ashes of the old inquisition, or rather (to drop all figure) from being a government according to law, this *new power* makes it a government according to discretion, without responsibility in the advisers.

At the time of the Spanish war with the Netherlands the Duke of Alva had a council, which was denominated *the Council of Blood*. I believe none of the historians give us a list of that council. But Philip lost the Netherlands, by pursuing the measures and advice of that council. *

Philip

* There is such a strong analogy, between the war with the Netherlands, and the war with America, that for the reader's entertainment, I will extract a few traits, chiefly from the works of Sir William Temple.

"The Emperor Charles the Fifth, left to his son Philip, the Seventeen Provinces in the Low Countries, as peaceable and as loyal as either prince or subjects could desire. Philip coming to the possession of so many and great dominions, after the trial of fortune in the war with France (which was left him by his father like an incumbrance upon an estate) restored by the peace of Cambray the quiet of all his dominions. After this he went into Spain, leaving the Spanish and Italian troops in the Low Countries, with the same demands of supplies from the States which the war had made necessary. By this conduct he soon ceased to be loved, and began to be feared by the inhabitants of those provinces. He conferred the offices of his house and the honour of his council and confidence upon Spaniards, whose reservedness and pride were disagreeable to the Flemings. But Philip thought it not agreeing with the pomp and greatness of the House of Austria, nor with his designs of a great empire, to consider the grievances of the Low Countries, nor to be limited by their ancient forms of government. He had agreed with the Pope to establish fourteen new Bishops in the Low Countries, and he resolved to revive the edicts against Luther, to make way for the inquisition.

"The erecting of fourteen new bishops sees, was looked upon by the great Lords as an innovation, by introducing so many new men into the great council. Vol. I. p. 77. Count Egmont was sent to Spain to represent the grievances of the provinces to the King, who dispatched him back with a favourable answer, by which the rigors of the edicts and inquisition were remitted. But in a very short time he sent letters to the

Duchess

Philip had as many opportunities of making peace with the Netherlands, as you have had with America. But his *Council of Blood* were always for another campaign. The historians of those times say, that they

Duchess of Parma, Governess of the Low Countries, disclaiming the interpretation given to his letters by Count Egmont, and declaring that his will was, all heretics should be put to death, and the edicts should be published and observed.

"This occasioned a confederacy of the Lords never to suffer the inquisition in the Low Countries, as contrary to all laws, both sacred and profane; executions were prevented, prisons forced open, &c.

"Brederode at the head of two hundred gentlemen, petitioned the Governess at Brussels to abolish the inquisition and edicts concerning religion. She sent the petition to the King; but though the King was startled with such consequences of his last commands, and at length induced to recall them; yet whether by the slowness of his nature, or the forms of the Court, the answer came too late; and as all his former concessions, either by delay, or testimonies of ill-will, or meaning in them, had lost the good grace, so this lost absolutely the effect, and came into the Low Countries when all was in a flame. P. 81.

"In 1567, the Duke of Alva arrived at Brussels, with an army of 10,000, the best Spanish and Italian soldiers, under the command of the choicest officers, which the wars of Charles V. and Philip II. had bred up in Europe, which, with 2000 Germans raised by the Duchess of Parma, made up a force, which nothing in the Low Countries could look in the face, with other eyes than of astonishment, submission, or despair. P. 83.

"The Duke of Alva was vested with powers never given before to any Governor; a council of twelve was erected for trial of all crimes committed against the King's authority, which was called by the people the Council of Blood. Great numbers were condemned and executed by sentence of this council. The town stomached the breach of their charters, and the people of their liberties, and all complain of the disuse of the states, and of the introduction of armies; but all in vain. The King was constant to what he had determined." P. 84.

Alva demanded new taxes for his troops, the people refused to pay them, he threatened to hang them.—Sir W. Temple's words are these.

"The people refuse to pay, the soldiers begin to levy by force, the townsmen all shut up their shops, the people in the country forbear the market. The Duke is enraged, and calls the soldiers to arms, and commands several of the inhabitants who refused the payments, to be hanged that very night upon their sign posts; which nothing moves the obstinacy of the people: and now the officers of the guards are ready to begin the executions, when news comes to town of the taking of the Briel, (by the persons who accompanied Brederode, when he delivered the petition to the Duchess of Parma) and of the expectation that had been given of a sudden revolt in the province of Holland.

"This

they entertained great hopes of getting large confiscated estates, particularly the Prince of Orange's, &c. When the Dutch applied to England and France for assistance—When Philip recalled the Duke of Alva,

“ This unexpected blow struck the Duke of Alva, and foreseeing the consequence of it, because he knew the stubble was dry; and now he found the fire was fallen in, he thought it an ill time to make an end of the tragedy in Brabant; whilst a new scene was opened in Holland; and so giving over for the present his taxes and executions, applies his thoughts to the suppression of this new enemy. Thus began the second great commotion of the Low-Countries in 1570, and that which, indeed, never ended, but in the loss of those provinces, where the death of the Spanish and royal government gave life to a new Commonwealth.” P. 87.

How similar is this to the American war! TAXES form the cause, or rather the pretence for both wars. So true it is, that the same oppression will create the same opposition, or, in the common phrase, the same cause will produce the same effect.

The war raged with various success. The surprise of Briel and the surprise of Trenton were not unlike in their consequences, except that the former “ proved to Philip a dear experience; how little the best conduct and boldest armies are able to withstand the torrent of an enraged people, which ever bears down all before it.” P. 91.

Fresh armies and new commanders were sent. Don John of Austria succeeded the Duke of Alva. The Duke of Parma succeeded Don John. This duke was to annihilate all resistance. The States prepared for him, and the union of Utrecht in 1579 was made upon his coming. The Archduke Albert succeeded the Duke of Parma; he came also with a mighty army, drawn out of Germany and Italy.

“ The Spanish and Italian writers, says Sir William Temple, content themselves to attribute the cause of this revolution to the change of religion, to the native stubbornness of the people, and to the ambition of the Prince of Orange; but religion, without mixture of ambition and interest, works no such violent effects, and produces rather the examples of constant sufferings, than of desperate actions. The nature of the people cannot change of a sudden, no more than the climate which infuses it; and no country hath brought forth better subjects than many of these provinces, both before and since these commotions; and the ambition of one man could neither have designed nor achieved so great an adventure, had it not been seconded with universal discontent; nor could that have been raised to so great an height and heat, without so many circumstances, as fell in from an unhappy course of the Spanish Counsels to kindle and foment it. P. 96.

“ The continuance of foreign troops after the wars begun by Charles V. were ended; the erecting of the new bishop's sees, and introducing the inquisition, and the imposition of the 10th and 20th part against the legal forms of government, in a country where a long derived succession had made the people fond and tenacious of their antient

Alva, and Don John of Austria acceded to the engagement of Ghent—When the Prince of Orange was assassinated at Delph—When the perfidy of Leicester had nearly sacrificed the Dutch—and upon several other

antient customs and laws. These were the seeds of their hatred to Spain, which were encreased by the course of above threescore years war. P. 97.

“ The choice of the Archduke Albert had a deeper root and design than at first appeared ; for that mighty King Philip II. born to so vast possessions, and to so much vaster desires, after a long dream of raising his head into the clouds, found it now ready to lie down in the dust ; his body broken with age and infirmities, his mind with cares and distempered thoughts, and the royal servitude of a solicitous life, he began to see in the glass of time and experience, the true shapes of all human greatness and designs ; and finding to what airy figures he had hitherto sacrificed his health and ease and the good of his life, he now turned his thoughts wholly to rest and quiet, which he had never yet allowed either the world or himself. His designs upon England, and his invincible armada had ended in smoke ; those upon France, in events the most contrary to what he had proposed : and instead of mastering the liberties, and breaking the stomach of his Low-Country subjects, he had lost seven of his provinces, and held the rest by the tenure of a war that cost more than they were worth. He had lately made a peace with England, and desired it with France ; and though he scorned it with his revolted subjects in his own name, yet he wished it in another's, and was unwilling to entail a quarrel upon his son, which had crossed his fortunes, and busied his thoughts all the course of his reign ; he therefore resolved to commit these two designs to the management of Archduke Albert, with the stile of Governor and Prince of the Low-Countries, to the end that if he could reduce the provinces to their old subjection, he should govern them as Spanish dominions ; if that was in vain, he should, by a marriage with Clara Isabella Eugenia, (King Philip's beloved daughter) receive these provinces as a dowry, and become Prince of them, with a condition only of their returning to Spain, in case of Isabella dying without issue ; and at the worst, King Philip thought they might make a peace without affecting the honour of the Spanish Crown.

“ The Archduke entered the Low-Countries with a large army, but like all the former, it was of no effect. The Dutch had opened veins of trade with several nations, and both the Indies, and from these they derived those great resources, which enabled them to stand against their powerful enemy. At length, Albert proposed a truce ; the very mention of it, says Sir William Temple, could hardly at first be fastened upon the States, nor could they ever be prevailed upon to make way for

other occasions, Philip might have made peace, but the false pride of royalty would not let him ask it, though being the aggressor, he ought to have offered it. The States felt their own magnanimity, and recovered themselves.

In the year 1777, America was more than once on the point of breaking with France—she was disappointed in not receiving the assistance which France had promised her, this was our time to have stepped in, and separated them totally; or if Lord Percy had gone to America, at the time it was proposed to have sent him, with the powers then pretended to be in contemplation, such a separation might have been accomplished, and it is probable we might have made peace with America: at least, a separation from France at that time would have led very essentially towards it; but after an establishment of secretaries, clerks, &c. was agreed upon, the negotiation with Lord Percy broke off as abruptly as it had begun. His Lordship asked no emolument, only an honorary mark of distinction—a blue ribband. The ostensible Minister, who has so often declared his sorrow for the American war, and his readiness to make peace, would not give it him, though there were three blue ribbands at that time vacant, viz. Lord Albemarle's, Lord Chesterfield's, and the Duke of Kingston's, but *promised* him he should have it when he returned. Lord Percy replied, he was too well acquainted with Courts to trust to *promises*, and if he could not have it before he went, he must decline going.* A few.

any negotiation by a suspension of arms, till the Archduke had declared, he would treat with them as free provinces, upon whom neither he nor Spain had any pretence. The truce was signed in 1609, and thus the State of the United Provinces came to be acknowledged as a free Commonwealth by their antient master, having before been treated so by most of the Kings and Princes of Europe." P. 110.

* The supposition of the world has been, that the Efficient Council were not friendly to the intended embassy of Lord Percy, and that when Lord North made the

A few months afterwards, another opportunity offered of opening a negotiation with America, before the treaty with France was signed. This was by Mons. Thornton, who came avowedly commissioned by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane to open a negotiation with the British Ministry, respecting the American prisoners, particularly those in England. He waited upon Lord North several times in the month of December, 1777, to whom he delivered a letter from the American Minister. He was in London three weeks, by the knowledge of government, yet neither the *efficient* Council, nor the *official* Ministers ever offered to open a treaty through him with Dr. Franklin, notwithstanding the opportunity was so fair and inviting. In about four weeks after his return to Paris, the treaty between France and America was signed.

The attempts made by Lord Chatham, Mr. Burke, General Conway, Mr. Hartley, and many other gentlemen, form a group of circumstantial evidence, that peace with America was never intended, until, as Lord Nord said, she was brought to our feet; or, as Lord George Germaine expressed himself, she had made unconditional submission.

When you resolved upon making war with America, and that nothing short of absolute conquest was to put an end to it, you should at the same time have formed your plan for European policy. You should have had a system. You should have had some great ally on the continent of Europe. It was obvious to every man, that a civil war in the British empire must be an invitation to France to revenge the losses and disgraces she suffered in the last war. A powerful ally upon the continent might have kept her in check.

The *efficient* Council of his present Majesty, have been the first Council since the revolution who have disregarded the wise policy of preserving the balance of power. Great Britain joined to America

was

the request of the blue ribband known to his master, they refused it, in order to put an end to the design.

was a balance against all the Roman Catholic States in Europe. It was America that turned the scale so triumphantly in our favour throughout the last war. The peace of 1761, made a new æra in the system, but no deviation from the principle of it; though we did not gain all that we had a right to expect, yet America was gained, and she, alone, was a balance of power in our favour. The old system of King William had been continued, protected, and cherished in the growth and acquisition of the new nation of America; while we had her immense trade in our ports, and her encreasing strength on our side; it would have been indifferent to these kingdoms, whether Charles or Philip sat on the throne of Spain, or the Elector of Bavaria, or the Queen of Hungary, succeeded to the Imperial diadem.

Whoever advised that fatal resolution of *trying* the question with America, was a shallow, as well as a wicked politician. It was obvious, that America dismembered, though but for a time, must be such diminution of our strength, that no man, who was fit to be a Minister, would have commenced hostilities with America, without first having gained the eventual accession, at least, of a contingent strength in Europe, in case of France assisting America; a supposition that must occur to the plainest understanding.

If Lord Chatham had chosen to have made war upon America, he would have had an ally in Europe; he would have added strength to the body, before he had attempted to coerce the extremities; but he knew the necessity of preserving the great political outline of former days, the balance of power, and he never suffered it to escape his eye for a moment. He knew that America was that balance of power to England; that she was arrived at such state of perfection and maturity, that England with America in her hand, might treat with a contemptuous smile the frowns of every Prince in Europe. She was
that

that accession of encreasing strength and wealth, that unsubsidized auxillary, whose faith was guarantied by blood, interest, laws, language, manners, and religion, all the strongest ties which bind the hearts and passions of men; and therefore he was so zealous and warm, against the dismemberment of the Empire. But were he now alive, he could not prevent America becoming a separate nation. All opportunities of peace, all hopes of accommodation, without the preliminary of Independence, are totally lost. Whenever peace is made, we shall then feel our loss of him most sensibly.

He could have done something with America, though not all he wished. But those ministers, who have had the management of the war, and have been beat by the Americans, both in field and in council, can never make a good peace. America must detest them for their cruelties, and repeated acts of duplicity. And the ministers of the belligerent powers in Europe, must hold them in too light an estimation, for any negotiation, except the surface of a convenient truce, whenever those powers shall condescend to listen to it.

Will Lord George Germain come forward and tell us he understands peace better than war. He cannot have the effrontery; though from the specimens he has given us, of his knowledge in both sciences, his competency to either, may be well disputed. If the other ministers were applied to, upon the same subject, would they not officially answer, that the cause of the war having originated in his Lordship's department, the preliminary and ultimatum of peace, being the Independence of America, must come from the same place? His Lordship's prowess in war, is upon record;—his skill in peace is known in America, though not in England: however, it may be seen in his letter to Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, sent by the New-York packet in March last; which was taken, and his Lordship's letter published in Philadelphia, with Annotations.

Whitehall, 7th March, 1781.

" Gentlemen,

" I HAVE received your dispatch of the 2d of January, and one from Sir Henry Clinton of the 20th; and had the honour to lay them before the King.

" Your declaration of the 29th December, inclosed in your joint dispatch, will, I trust, be productive of all the good effects you hope from it, and which so well timed a publication intitles you to expect, and I shall be very happy to carry to the King an application to you from any of the revolted Provinces for pardon, and restoration to the privileges of British subjects.

" The narrow limits to which you have reduced your exceptions, and the generality of the assurances you have given of a restoration of the former constitutions, were, I doubt not, well considered and judged necessary and expedient; *but as there are many things in the constitutions of some of the Colonies, and some things in all, which the people have always wished to be altered, and others which the common advantage of both countries required to be changed,* it is necessary to be attentive that either your acts or declarations preclude any disquisition of such subjects, or prevent such alterations being made in their constitutions, as the people may solicit or consent to. The instructions transmitted to the trustees of rebel estates in Carolina, appear to be very proper and applicable to the case of the British creditors, and those to whom I have communicated them, express themselves well satisfied with them.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant.

(Signed)

GEORGE GERMAIN."

" *Commissioners for restoring Peace.*"

ANNO TA-

A N N O T A T I O N S.

"All propositions from Great Britain for a restitution of peace, from Lord North's conciliatory plan to the above extraordinary declaration, have been a series of treacherous arts and designed ambiguity; and no one, but a person of Lord George Germain's ambiguous character, could so peremptorily have decided that the exceptions alluded to in this Declaration were reduced to narrow limits." 'Excepting always such persons who have been instrumental in putting to death any of his Majesty's loyal subjects,' are the words of the Commissioners, when stripped of superfluous expressions,* Are these narrow limits? What description

* *By their Excellencies SIR HENRY CLINTON, Knight of the most Honourable Order of the Bath, General and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces, within the Colonies lying on the Atlantic Ocean, from Nova Scotia to West Florida, inclusive, &c. &c. &c.—And MARIOT ARBUTHNOT, Esquire, Vice Admiral of the White, and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels employed in North America, &c. &c.—His Majesty's COMMISSIONERS for restoring peace to the colonies and plantations in North America, and for granting pardon to such of His Majesty's subjects now in Rebellion, as shall deserve the Royal Mercy, &c.*

A D E C L A R A T I O N.

TO the inhabitants of the British colonies on the continent of North America, now in rebellion, of every rank, order, and denomination; excepting always such persons, who under the usurped forms of trial, have tyrannically and inhumanly been instrumental in executing and putting to death any of His Majesty's loyal subjects.

GREAT BRITAIN having manifested the sincerity of her affectionate and conciliatory intentions, in removing for ever your pretended grounds of discontent, by repealing among other statutes, those relating to the duty on tea, and the alterations in the government of Massachusetts Bay; and by exempting for ever not only the continental, but the insular colonies, from parliamentary taxations; it is with much pleasure we make known to you, that we have received a commission, under the great seal of Great-Britain, which has for its objects the removal of distrusts by the remission of offences—the restoration of the benefits of an extensive commerce—the enabling the constitutional officers of government to re-assume their functions (that you may again enjoy your former local legislatures) and the confirmation of your rights, liberties, and privileges.

The door is thus again thrown open (if happily you are disposed to avail yourselves of the opportunity it affords) for commencing negotiations, which may instantly terminate the miseries of your country.

We do therefore by the authority in us vested, hereby invite all the colonies in rebellion, separately as such, or any associations of men therein, to depute proper persons (for whom on application safe conducts shall be given) to make to us, jointly or separately, or in our absence to our council, (composed of the following members, viz. The Right Honourable Lieu-

tenant

cription of persons or crimes do they contain? All officers who have given sentence upon courts martial for the condemnation of spies are fully comprehended; all judges, justices, sheriffs, constables, and other petty

tenant General Charles Earl Cornwallis; his Excellency James Robertson, Esquire, Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of New-York; Josiah Martin, Esquire, Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of North Carolina; William Franklin, Esquire, Captain General and Governor in Chief of the province of New Jersey; the Honourable Andrew Elliot, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of the said province of New-York; William Smith, Esquire, Chief Justice of the said province of New York; Frederick Smyth, Esquire, Chief Justice of the said province of New Jersey; and John Tabor Kempe, Esquire, his Majesty's Attorney General of the said province of New York; or to the General Officer commanding the King's troops in any of the provinces) all such propositions respecting the state of the said provinces, modes, or forms of government; or touching the laws by which they are affected; and respecting such arrangements and regulations, as may tend to the advantage and stability of the several colonies and provinces, and to a lasting union with each of them respectively with Great Britain, upon the principles of the constitution, which his Majesty's subjects shall be desirous to confer upon, or lay, through us, before the King, for his royal consideration, and that of his Parliament.

And for the consolation of the friends of peace, and the re-union of the empire, as well as for the encouragement of all who, in future, may adopt the same sentiments, and by their immediate exertions and example, assist in accomplishing so desirable an event; we declare it to be the intention of Great Britain, by the blessing of God, to contend for the interests of the Colonies as inseparably connected with her own, so that they will neither be left a prey to the rapacious avarice of their domestic persecutors, nor to the deep and insidious designs of their pretended friends and allies.

And while the loyal are exhorted to persevere in their integrity for the preservation of their country, its religion and liberties; we avow to others of every order, who having so long listened to the counsels that preferred war to peace, are enabled by their past experience to decide on the folly of that destructive choice, our anxious desire for their immediate acceptance of this invitation—As Great Britain in this contest of arms, ever mindful of your descent and connection, has spared what it was, and still is in her power to destroy, and now only wishes as an affectionate parent, to rescue you from the cruel and tyrannical usurpations which your leaders are struggling to support for selfish and corrupt ends, and at your risk of being delivered over to Popish and arbitrary nations.

Having thus announced the benevolent purposes of our commission, We do hereby further declare, to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, the three Lower Counties on Delaware, New-Jersey, that part of New York still in revolt, Connecticut and Rhode-Island, separately as provinces, or to any associations of men therein, who shall on or before the first day of July next ensuing, declare their abhorrence of the rebellion, separate from its councils, and afterwards demean themselves as dutiful and peaceable subjects of his Majesty's government, that we shall be ready to grant them pardon for all past treasons, and the full benefits of the King's clemency as before recited.—We do also make the same offers of pardon and benefits to the inhabitants of the other more southern and eastern colonies in rebellion, or to any associations of men therein, who shall on or before the first day of August next ensuing, declare, and act in the manner aforementioned, and afterwards persevere in the like dutiful and loyal behaviour.

If any shall be so hardy and desperate as to contemn the proffered clemency of their Sovereign, the liberality of the nation, and the means and mediation we now tender for effecting

petty officers, jurymen, witnesses, and spectators at the time of execution, may be said to be instrumental 'in putting to death his Majesty's loyal subjects.'

"The word 'instrumental' is indefinite. All causes however remote, which conduce to an event, are 'instrumental,' and in the present case, all those who made the laws to enable the judges to pronounce sentence; all those who elect the legislators; all those who contributed, either in the civil or military line, to the revolution have been 'instrumental.' [Here followeth several expressions, concerning the King, which though they have been re-printed by his Majesty's printer at New-York, might not be permitted with the same impunity here.] These, O Britain! are thy terms of proffered mercy to those thou callest thy deluded children; calculated for 'the removal of distress by the remission of offences,' and may succeed when the citizens of America cease to be men; when the sacred love of freedom shall be banished from the earth, and when heaven shall cease to guard the rights of mankind! The avowed objects of the commission, and which comprehend 'too general assurance,' are 'the restoration of the benefits

affecting the mutual reconciliation of countrymen with each other; and the equitable adjustment and composition of their differences and ferments; they are hereby warned of the aggravation of such guilt; and most earnestly implored to shun the punishment ordained by the laws of their country, and, which, when restored to their free course, will be inflicted for their treasonable offences.

And that these intimations, which so highly concern the people in the revolted districts, may not be concealed from them to the danger and ruin of any person in the future operations, or at the final conclusion of the war; We require all officers, civil and military, to be aiding and assisting with us in the publication thereof, and in the execution of our commission, and of the powers and matters therein contained.

Given under our hands and seals at the City of New-York, this Twenty-ninth day of December, in the Twenty-first year of his Majesty's reign.

H. CLINTON, (L. S.)

MT. ARBUTHNOT. (L. S.)

By their Excellencies Command,
DANIEL COXE, p. Secretary:

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its of an extensive commerce,' and 'the enabling the constitutional officers of government to reassume their former functions.' A commerce subject to the limitations and restrictions of parliament, and permitted only as a channel through which the fruits of our honest industry may be wrested from us to support these 'constitutional officers' in the exercise of their oppressive 'functions.' What might we expect from a restoration of our former local Legislatures? The Minister is undisguised, and directs the Commissioners, that 'neither in their acts nor declarations they preclude disquisitions of subjects which refer to the alteration of former constitutions.' These are alterations 'which the people may solicit or consent to.' By 'people,' we presume his Lordship intends the Tories 'or loyal subjects;' for all others are comprised 'in the limits and exceptions;' and after a sufficient number of them shall be sacrificed to reduce the remainder in a state of abject servility, and despondency, so as to prevent the possibility of future opposition, it would not be difficult to introduce such forms of government as would best suit the purposes of tyranny and oppression.

"Witness the kind of government instituted in Charlestown, under 'the board of police.'

"Philadelphia can declare the wretched fate of the unfortunate citizens of that town. Notwithstanding the most solemn capitulation, by which their persons were to be safe, and their property secured to them, they are inhumanly robbed of all their possessions, driven amongst strangers to seek subsistence for famishing wives and helpless children! Governor Tonyn in a late speech to the legislature of East Florida, has given a sample of the intended reforms in the colonial governments: His words are, "The result of your deliberations, gentlemen, will not only be of consequence to this province, but to his Majesty's government in general, and, will at least give a tincture to future assemblies;

semblies; as one of the chief reasons assigned for this unnatural rebellion in the colonies, refusing to acknowledge the supreme right and authority of the British parliament, to prevent as far as possible any future contest upon so just and equitable a point, I hope your good sense and attachment to the constitution will lead you in the most public and avowed manner, by an act of the provincial legislature, to recognize your allegiance to the blessed Prince upon the throne, and the supremacy of parliament; thereby to establish upon the most solid foundation, our constitutional liberties and dependencies.' The obsequious assembly echoed the Governor's sentiments, in the most submissive language, and have given an example worthy, in his Lordship's opinion, to be followed by the United States. To the feelings of every citizen of America let the appeal be now made. On the one hand, the glorious prospect, is not far distant, of enjoying in peace and safety the inestimable blessings of civil and political liberty, secured under the most excellent constitutions, formed by themselves, and supported, with unshaken fortitude, through every hazard, and against every danger.—On the other, a base return to the most barbarous of ~~on this~~ with the dreadful though certain expectation of feeling all the effects of British clemency."

Upon the publication of Lord George Germaine's letter by the Congress, and some other letters found in the same mail, Mr. Joseph Jones, a delegate in Congress from Virginia, wrote in the following terms to Col. Teliefero, an officer in the Virginia camp:

"Some intercepted letters taken in the Falmouth packet for New York, and carried into France and which have been transmitted us by our minister there, clearly shew the designs and expectations of the enemy, with respect to the subjugation of the Southern States, as well

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as the continued delusion and folly of the British ministry; at least the Minister for the American department, whose letters we have so late as the 7th March, when their then late successes had so elated them as to leave no doubt but the Southern States were in subjection, and that the superior force they had in America would enable Clinton to send troops up to the head of Chesapeake; and in conjunction with the loyalists of Maryland and Pennsylvania, subdue those States; and that General Washington, commanding but a handful of men, must cross the Hudson, and take refuge in the Eastern States; where being deprived of succours and supplies from the South, he must soon be without men to support him, and become a sacrifice to General Clinton's army.—Fair prospect this to Lord George! but alas! where has it vanished? or where did it exist, but in his own imagination? We are told the Dutch are determined to prosecute the war, and disposed to be allied to these States. Adieu.*

In the American prints are to be found several other letters from different members of the Congress, to their friends, reprobating Lord George Germain's letter; and ridiculing with no small share of humour, a letter from his friend and secretary, Mr. W. Knox; also found in the same packet, and published likewise by the Congress; of which the following is an extract of the only part worthy of notice:—
 "It is intended to establish amongst them (the Colonies) distinctions of rank, and new model their government by that of Great Britain."

* This letter was printed in the New York Newspaper of the 15th of September last.

On the first of January 1781, a few weeks before his Lordship's letter was written, and probably about the time that it was under consideration in the *efficient* council, the Congress ordered the following army to be in camp,

" Four regiments of Cavalry, 6 troops each, of 64 men,	1536
" Four regiments of Artillery, 9 companies each, of 65 men, — — — — —	2340
" Forty-nine regiments of Infantry, 9 companies each, 64 men, — — — — —	28224
" One regiment of Artificers, 8 companies each, 60 men, — — — — —	480
	<hr/>
	32,580

The success of the last campaign in America, as well as of every other campaign since 1775, ought to convince us, that the conquest of that vast country is hopeless; that the attempt is impracticable; and that the great promises of future success, which year after year have been held out to us, and are now made to us for the next year, are like all the past, delusive, irrational and wicked. The nation has been seduced by them, year after year, into ruinous expence, and involved, year after year, in additional wars.

During the whole last campaign, Sir Henry Clinton was kept at bay, by the menaces of General Washington to attack New York. Lord Cornwallis was deprived of succours because Sir Henry Clinton durst not send him any. And at last the threatened attack of New York proves to have been nothing more than a feint; that General Washington never intended to attack New York; but that he affected it, purely to deceive Sir Henry Clinton, and prevent him sending reinforcements to Lord Cornwallis; and actually kept him in that state of jeopardy,

pardy, until Monfr. de Grasse appeared off the Chesapeake. When that event was known, Sir Henry found, to his great mortification, that he had been *duped*; that Washington, so far from threatening him, had been all the time secretly laughing at him; and that the huge heaps of letters, which had been taken in the intercepted American mails, strongly appeared, to have been written and sent on purpose, to fall into his hands. But the manœuvre of young Laurens (son to the state prisoner in the Tower) disguised Mr. Washington's movement from before New York, so effectually, that the true reason was not suspected, until some time after the American chief had begun his march to the Southward, to co-operate with the French Admiral.

This new deception was entrusted to young Laurens, who completely executed it. He circulated a report in Jersey, in order that it might be conveyed to New York, of circumstances having happened in Europe, which were extremely unfavourable to the French and American interests. The bait answered. In New York it was instantly credited, and propagated by authority. I shall give it from the New York Gazette of August 25, * in which it was printed by his Majesty's printer, in a large type (three sizes larger than the other intelligence in the same paper) to signify its authenticity and importance.

"A Gentleman, just arrived from Jersey, informs us, that young Mr. Laurens, lately passed through that province on his return from Paris, and has brought the following very interesting intelligence, that the EMPEROR OF GERMANY, HAD DECLARED HIMSELF THE ALLY OF GREAT BRITAIN, [*all in large capitals*], which threw the court of Versailles into much confusion, as, in consequence of this great event, the French nation must withdraw all support from their new allies the rebels of this continent; and we are informed that it has with another con-

curring

* Monfr. de Grasse arrived in the Chesapeake on the 26th. of August.

cunning circumstance occasioned Mr. Washington and the Count de Rochambault to quit their *menacing* position at the White Plains, where we are assured the French and rebel troops did not consort together as men determined either to secure the independence of America, or realize Mr. Washington to be a dictator of it. We are also told, that the French admiral is embarking all the sick troops on board his squadron, from which it is suggested that their fleet and army are to be withdrawn from Rhode Island, to strengthen themselves in the West Indies. It is said that the French and rebels left their ground the day after Mr. Washington received the mortifying account of the Emperor's alliance with his Majesty's old and natural friend the court of Great Britain."

Instead of the French *coming to* America with a greater force, they were here represented to be *going from* America, with all they had there. The inference is obvious, viz. that Lord Cornwallis could want no assistance!

I do not know whether this stratagem of young Laurens, may not fall heavy upon his father. His Grace of York is in great favour, and he may advise the inversion of the Mosaic Law; that is, to visit the sins of the son upon the father, to the third and fourth year of imprisonment. As the gallant Earl in Virginia has suffered, may it not be inferred that young Laurens certainly was the cause of it. It was he who concluded the deception, practised upon Sir Henry Clinton.

Thus hath the American chief, by his artful manœuvres, obliged us to waste a whole summer upon the defensive at New York; and by his extraordinary skill, and having a large stage to act upon, has wound up the campaign, with honour to himself, and advantage to his country. While we have been continued under the immense expence, of preserving a place of arms, from which we could not act, except by one or two desultory, or rather marauding expeditions; of no moment to the great object of the war; and of no honour to our national character;

rafter ;—— Mr. Washington with a small army, confessedly not half of that within New York, has kept Sir Henry Clinton inactive all summer ; has prevented him from reinforcing the southern army, or even making a diversion in favour of it. And at length to wind up the measure of British calamity and disgrace, has (assisted by that very Rochambault, whom the King's servants at New York, drove by a single dash of the pen to the West Indies) compelled those gallant but unfortunate troops, who in all the brilliancy of success had traversed South and North Carolina, to surrender to an imprudently despised but now victorious enemy.

However, Sir Henry Clinton is a brave officer, and has behaved like one upon every occasion ; and if in some eyes, he appears to have acted with a judgment inferior to Mr. Washington, it has been owing to the smallness of his theatre, and to the want of a proper regulation at home ; where no system was formed, nor plan of operation ever laid down, in which common sense could be discovered. He is obliged to act in every department at New York ; from the commander in chief to the sutler.

The two great errors respecting the conduct of the war, have been, first a want of true information, or a total disregard of it ; and next, a most criminal indifference about forming any well digested system of policy and action, embracing in it the probabilities of European jealousy. In a word, the ministers have had no PLAN : There have been no coincidence, no co-operation amongst them. The fleet at New York has never been adequate to the service. The war has been left to chance : no provision was made for disaster, nor has any single measure been concerted for adoption, in case of victory. When a temporary advantage has been obtained, by the spirit of the officers, and the innate bravery of the troops, the ministers have always claimed the merit of it. But if the commander has been misled by false information, or overpowered by numbers, the blame is fixed entirely and exclusively upon him : and a party of the American refugees, resident in London, who are paid
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for defamation, and who by the local knowledge they have of each scene of action, are enabled to torture, mistake and misrepresent his motions, and from premises of their own, raise arguments and falsehoods, which pass uncontradicted. The fair fame, and well-earned reputation of the commander, are wounded and traduced, through all the public prints, in hand-bills, and in pamphlets; and it is upon strong suspicion, that ministers are charged with giving their assistance, besides countenance and circulation, to this wicked and artful fraud upon the public. The case of Sir William Howe one day, is the case of Sir Henry Clinton another: and it is more than probable, that if General Burgoyne had joined in an attack upon Sir William Howe, he might have been, what Lord Amherst is, or have enjoyed some other post equally as lucrative: — But this brave and persecuted officer is sensible that Sir William Howe has given the most distinguished proofs of military experience, gallantry and conduct. To these and to his general worth, and humanity, the officers of his army have borne the fullest and most public evidence.

It is needless to assert, that the honour, principles, and elevated ideas of General Burgoyne, would always incline him to spurn at so infamous and horrid a proceeding as that of attempting to vilify the irreproachable heroism of a fellow soldier. In spite of unexampled accusation and abuse. In spite of glaring insult, intolerable to a mind less conscious of integrity than his own, his character which shines brighter when separated from the professional advantages that were barbarously torn from him, lies far beyond the reach of either the baffled malice of the minister, or the hired calumny, of the refugees.

Our naval power in America, has never been, in any part, what it should have been; but uniformly insufficient, from the commencement of the war, to the present hour. When D'Estaing arrived on the American coast, it was a miracle, that the fleet, army and New York, were not all taken by him. Nothing but the universal confi-

dence in Lord Howe's skill, bravery and general character, prevented so great a fatality. The judicious disposition, which Lord Howe made of his little fleet, awed D'Estaing, and saved the British power in America. If he had not formed that disposition, or had quitted it, he must inevitably have lost the whole; his force not being half that of the French Admiral. Yet it has been Lord Sandwich's boast, that England never had a better fleet. I will ask, where has it been employed? or where is it to be found? Not in the Mediterranean, as the invasion of Minorca shews.—Not in the Baltic, for there we must not fire a gun: it is now the Empress's naval manor and she has forbidden the English shooting there.* ———Not in the channel which was formerly

* The Instrument of our *humble acquiescence* is in these words.

GEORGE R. An additional instruction to all ships of war and privateers, that have or may have, letters of marque against the French King, the King of Spain, or the States General of the united Provinces, their vassals or subjects, or others inhabiting within any of their countries, territories or dominions, or against any other enemies or rebellious subjects of the crown of Great Britain. Given at our court at St. James's, the 20th day of April, 1781, in the 21st year of our reign.

Whereas we have been desirous to prevent interruption being given to the trade and commerce of every state in amity with us as far as was compatible with the necessary operations of war: and whereas it will tend very much to that purpose, that *the trade and navigation of the Baltic should remain uninterrupted*; we have therefore been pleased to resolve, that so long as the trade of our subjects shall continue to be secured in those seas, our ships of war, privateers and other vessels acting under our commission, shall be restrained from making prize of, stopping, or detaining any ship, or vessels within the Baltic: and we do hereby strictly charge and enjoin the commanders of our ships of war, and the commanders of all ships and vessels, having letters of marque or reprisal, that they do not, by virtue of their commissions, or under colour thereof, stop or detain any ship or vessel in the Baltic, for the purpose of making prize of the same; but that they suffer all such ships and vessels as they shall meet with in those seas to proceed in their respective voyages, without any interruption.

By his Majesty's Command

STORMONT.

merly *our* naval manor, for France, Spain, Holland and even America now daily and nightly poach in it, and the combined fleets have frequently been masters of it, during which times our game-keeper never presumed to take their guns : a tacit acknowledgment that our manerial rights are no longer tenable by the law of arms.—— Not in the West Indies, of which Granada, Tobago, St. Vincent's, and Dominica, are melancholy proofs.—— Not in North America, which the late engagement off the Chesapeake, and the surrender of the southern army unquestionably shew. The French conquer in the West Indies during the summer, and in the hurricane months, their ships go up to North America, where they get supplied with fresh provisions, and other articles ; and at the same time convoy a great trade to, and from, the American continent. If our navy is more respectable than ever, what justification can be given for Admiral Darby's last cruise ? Did not our naval minister know, that the Spanish flota was at that time on the sea, with an immense treasure ? The combined fleet which we were not able to face, being returned into port many weeks before, why was not Admiral Darby ordered to go down, and endeavour to intercept the flota ? He might have carried relief to Gibraltar at the same time. It may be now a question, whether we can spare a fleet to relieve Gibraltar ? Monsieur de Grasse in all human probability is gone to the West Indies, or Jamaica : he will certainly not stay upon the American coast at this season and the object of his going there fully answered. A wise minister would not lose a moment in sending a fleet to the West Indies.-----If it is true, that we never had a better fleet, it is also true, that it never was employed to so little purpose.

The only place in which we have been successful against the French, has been in Asia ; and that was at the beginning of the war. But the first Lord of the Admiralty, who is so ready to take merit to himself upon every little occasion, even upon the capture of a privateer, &c. has

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no concern in it. All the ministers are perfectly innocent of it. Chandanagore and Pondicherry, were taken by the company's forces; the first in consequence of early information arriving in Bengal, of the delivery of the French rescript in London; which information ministers did not send. The orders for attacking Pondicherry, went from the court of directors, and are dated before the Belle Poule was taken, or any other hostilities had been committed in Europe, between France and England. Matthews carried them over land. He was exactly a month in going from Suez to India. If Pondicherry had not been taken at the critical time it was, it could not have been taken afterwards.*

I know it has been said by the friends of the ministry, that notwithstanding this untoward complexion of things, and notwithstanding we have been awed and insulted in the channel, the inhabitants of the capital, who ought to be the first alarmed upon every occasion, because they are the first informed, did not behold the enemies fleet in the channel in any tremendous light; and even when the combined fleet was off Plymouth, they were indifferent, the diversions and amusements went on, and the people frequented them as usual. The fact is unquestionably true. But it is no proof that danger did not exist; or, that the people did not see it; or, that they did not think the danger very great. The fact is as capable of a different construction, as it is of that which the minister's friends have put upon it. It is as fair to say, that the people seeing every day nothing but a continuation and encrease of oppressive taxes

* In a week after the surrender, the rains set in; which would have made it impossible for the troops to have kept the field. This success is to be ascribed to a number of fortunate circumstances. First, the orders reaching India in such an extraordinarily expeditious manner. Next, the great activity of the new government of Madras; (Col. Stuart, &c. being recalled) and the new men being extremely alert, to shew their assiduity. Twelve thousand men were in the field by the end of June. The French rescript was laid before the House of Commons on the seventeenth of March, preceding.

taxes, a decrease every year of dominion and trade, are indifferent to any change ; and may think that none can be for the worse : they have been repeatedly promised, what has never been performed : they were promised a revenue from America to ease their burdens ; but their own burdens have encreased, beyond all example in the same number of years, and America is lost ; together with the inestimable riches, and revenue of a flourishing trade. They have paid greater sums for a navy, than ever were known before ; and never had so little benefit from it ; the French alone are able to look it in the face. They were told, that their money was safer in the hands of government, than in any other security ; yet the consolidated stock, which is called the barometer of the funds, is fallen from 90 to 55 ; and land, from being above thirty, is every where below twenty years purchase. The minister is giving every year, eight and nine per cent. for money ; which would be usury in any other man. Can the manufacturer, merchant, or trader borrow money at five per Cent. when the minister annually gives eight, and upwards ?—— No man capable of reflection, can behold these things with indifference ; and if the dread of civil commotion, or the effects of a riot, connived at, if not secretly approved by ministers, prevent him shewing his disapprobation publicly, they equally extinguish his zeal against the common enemy.

The northern princes, who would have crept under their icicles at Lord Chatham's frown, or would shrink to their caves, if Mr. Keppel's and Lord Howe's flags were flying on our fleets, have united in purposes and views, no matter how expressed, or pretended, which are hostile to our interests. Knowing that our resources are not called out ; that our ministers have not the confidence of the people, and consequently not the power to put forth the strength of the nation ; that the force employed is misdirected as to the object ; and that our naval minister has driven from the service the best officers of the fleet ; they venture out of the

the Baltic, which we have complaisantly yielded to their exclusive dominion ; and our enemies obtain, under neutral colours, the most essential and constant assistance, while their subjects, under the same privilege, and without risk, carry on a free and lucrative trade.

The northern confederacy is like a new nation rising in Europe ; a Phoenix emerging out of the old commercial, enterprising spirit of Great Britain. Mr. Gibbon will perhaps call it, another union of Northern barbarians, formed to invade and subdue the effeminate refinements, of modern Romans. It is certainly a new epoch in the history of Europe ; and demands all our address, care and attention. The hemisphere thickens wherever we turn our view. The *original* statesman ;* the controuling eye of a responsible supreme minister, who will search for, and accept of, information and instruction in every channel ; who, upon a hint, would send a Wood to explore ; had prudence to compare, capacity to judge, and spirit to resolve.—— He is wanted in every department. The loss is felt more, and greater than ever. The King of Prussia is indeed said to be his own minister ; but the British cabinet, which affects to hold out an imitation of that monarch, is, in truth, a most offensive and ridiculous burlesque of him.

The armed neutrality, as it is called, must be considered by every friend to Great Britain as tending, eventually, to create, and in a short time, may establish, a rival to our navigation and flag. This is not a matter to sleep over, nor to be publicly discussed. Your former *discourse on the neutral nations* will be of no use upon this occasion. Another kind of discourse, and another system of policy, should instantly be adopted. But fearing the mischiefs of future misconduct, from the known

* This was one of Lord Chatham's expressions in the House of Lords, when he reprobated the secret influence. He said, there was no original minister ; no minister in whom measures could be ascertained to originate, &c.

known mischiefs of past misconduct, I think no veracity will be hazarded in saying, that the present ministers are as unequal to any task of negotiation, as they have shewn themselves unequal to every operation of war ; and therefore that any measure, however excellent in the design, would, by them, be marr'd in the execution.

The Northern nations have been united by our temerity : they have been led, by the ignorant hauteur of our ministers, to consider us, in their cabinets, as their common enemy. The wicked spirit of domination, which we began to exercise near home, in support of that other wicked spirit, which had suggested the American war, has cemented an union amongst those nations against us, who never were friends before.

—— See to what length your American madness extends ! Those powers would never have been united, but to check the impotent insolence of your false pride, and false policy which have made every prince in Europe your enemy, without making any one man your friend.

The effect which this northern confederacy must have upon the terms of peace, whenever they come to be agitated, will probably be of the utmost importance. If Russia assumes the character of mediatrix, to which it has been publicly said, she has been humiliated by our court ; will she not secure something important for herself ? will not Sweden and Denmark, add their weight to the demands of America ? Bergen is the most convenient port in the north sea, for the American trade. America will there get sail duck, canvas, osnabrigs, hemp and masts ; and the northern nations will get her tobacco, indigo, &c. &c. Is it probable, that the King of Denmark will neglect making use of this advantage ? or that America, who has tasted it, will forget it ? or that Sweden will not see her advantage also, in strengthening the American claim to an open trade ? —— The more Powers our insanity provokes upon this question, the stronger we fix the seal to the Independence of America.

Charles-

Charlestown was taken in May, 1780. From that time to the present, our operations in America, have been principally directed to the southern colonies. Lord Cornwallis has marched almost through South and North Carolina, and notwithstanding he defeated the American arms in repeated actions, the vanquished seemed to gain strength by their defeats; for after every victory he had gained, the Americans collected, and were more numerous than before. After two fighting campaigns in the southern colonies, we have gained Charlestown and lost Florida; we have exchanged a province for a town. And Lord Cornwallis, after being obliged to abandon his conquests, proceeded, by sea, to Virginia; where he has been obliged to surrender. With all the striking peculiarities of his fate, he has not, like General Burgoyne, been limited to a particular path, or directed to a single object. He has been at liberty to act in what manner, and to go to what place, he pleased. Without any of those restraints, however, which destined General Burgoyne to defeat, his lordship's danger *certainly* appears to have been not less. The successes of General Burgoyne in the north, and of Lord Cornwallis in the south, are not dissimilar; they equally increased the ardour, and number, of their enemies: and they serve to shew, as incontestibly as the strongest evidence can shew, the impossibility of our conquering America.

What man can read your plan of naval operations for the year 1782 without the utmost contempt of the judgment that framed it and the same abhorrence of the folly that published it.* If the enemy is not pre-

* In the London Chronicle of Tuesday November 20th, 1781, printed by William Strahan, Esqr. member of parliament, and printer to the King's most excellent Majesty, is the following notification.

"The Naval Arrangements of the ensuing Spring."

"For the American station—the Admirals Digby and Hood, with 14 or 15 sail of the line, and three fifties, besides frigates, sloops, schooners, and cutters. This force to be increased or decreased as circumstances may require.

At

prepared, will he not prepare, to counteract it, in every part? Can Admiral Graves, or Sir George Rodney, be in the West Indies time enough, to prevent any attack that may be intended on Jamaica? will not announcing to the world, the design of sending those officers thither, urge and stimulate the enemy, to seize the present opportunity, to attack some of our islands, before the reinforcements arrive?----- And will not the French and Dutch send advices to their settlements in the East Indies, of the force we are preparing to send there? In possession, as they are, of all the instructions, which the ministers sent to the East Indies, can it be a doubt, that they are not prepared to oppose, and frustrate our designs there? Has not every word of those instructions been printed in the Mauritius gazette, very lately? By what *fatality*, or rather by what *intrigue* (for I suspect the last) did the enemy get possession of those valuable papers?

It has been a misfortune to this country, that many well-meaning gentlemen, did not, when the war commenced, understand the true connexion between America and Great Britain. They adopted certain notions of power; which, with respect to America, would have been found as impolitic in the execution, as they have been impracticable in the attainment.

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At the Leeward Islands—Sir George Rodney and Admiral Drake, with 26 sail of the line, 16 of which are to be fresh ships from England, all copper-bottomed, besides a proportionate number of frigates, fire-ships, bombs, &c.

On the Jamaica station—Admiral Graves, who is to go thither from America with six ships of the line, immediately after the expected action with the French, to succeed Admiral Rowley (who now commands there since Sir Peter Parker came away), who comes home next spring. His squadron to be increased to eight sail of the line.

In the East Indies—Sir Richard Bickerton is to have 12 sail of the line, six of which he takes out with him, fresh ships, all coppered, from England, besides two fifties and four frigates."

On these four stations the number of ships of the line will be 61 sail.

ment. Trade alone was our proper connexion ; and so long as the Americans went on with agriculture, and we with manufactures, both countries were flourishing : and never was any connexion, between nations, so happily, and by nature so mutually formed, for each others benefit. While we sent them ploughshares, protected their trade, and let alone their internal police, they were our friends. We went on in manufacturing, and they in cultivating. A dear bought experience has shewn us, the mischiefs which an interruption of that happiness has occasioned. The arguments of those noblemen and gentlemen, who deprecated the vengeance of ministers, and solicited the consideration of every measure, to avoid that of war, reflect a lustre upon their characters, and inspire a confidence in their judgments, which time will not tarnish, or erase. If a tax of three pence per pound upon tea, was a matter worth resisting, and America could be brought to unite against that paltry sum, is it not *more* probable, that the *greater* sum intended to have been levied by the stamp act, would have created the like resistance ? There was wisdom in foreseeing the danger, and there was virtue in preventing it. If the policy which dictated the repeal of the stamp act, had been continued, Great Britain and America would, at this day, have been a most happy, united and flourishing people. By adhering to that policy in one case, and by rejecting it in another, which was exactly similar, we have given it a FAIR TRIAL ; and may pronounce, what woeful experience will not now suffer to be called adulation, that the supporters of that policy were the truest friends to Great Britain ; to that union and reciprocity of interests, which gave dignity to our sovereign in the eyes of all the princes in Europe ; and magnanimity to our councils, by a thorough knowledge of the commercial fountains from which our strength and resources flowed.

I will quit this disagreeable and melancholy subject, with most earnestly entreating you, as chairman, master, head, or principal, of the Efficient Council,

Council, not to make another campaign in America.—— Abandon the American war.—— Say nothing more about it ; but withdraw the troops, and employ them elsewhere. Make no peace with America only. Leave all discussion with America to the period of a general peace. The separate attempt would be degrading ; and would be paying to America a greater compliment than you intend. Follow Lord Chatham's plan ; you cannot follow a better. The House of Bourbon was always his object. We are already engaged in a triple war in Europe ; and know not how soon it may be encreased. To combat the House of Bourbon as we ought, would employ all the strength, riches and resources of the nation. If the house of Bourbon is not essentially weakened, no peace can be made that is not dishonourable, disadvantageous and insecure.

The service you have it in your power to render your country, by changing the present plan of action, may be very well stiled inestimable. A cursory review of measures, during only the last six years, is amply sufficient to convince any gentleman, of the necessity of a total alteration in them. I will hope, that your candour will not allow you to defend them. If we reason upon the probability of the future, from the knowledge we have of the past, which is always a fair presumption, the necessity of changing the system, and principle, at present so prevalent in his Majesty's councils, will be manifest to any understanding. Idiotism itself could not have produced such a series of misfortunes. I will not enumerate them ; nor point out where, I think, owing to either the inattention, or incapacity of ministers, we are exposed to more misfortunes. But as a friend to my country, I wish to see the authors of her calamities removed, and an almost total change made in the measures of government. Lord North is called the ostensible minister, and you, Sir, the real one.

The same wicked spirit of domination, which has lost America, hath also provoked, and excited the Asiatic princes to enter into a league against

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us. While Hyder Ally alone, has taught them, that our troops are not invincible. We are now going to carry on a continental war there. — Is it to make our sovereign a Nabob, that the elector of Hanover's troops are transporting to Asia? or, are they intended, to add to his dominions, the empire of the East, because his ministers have lost that of the West? — Notwithstanding so many deserving naval officers are unemployed, whom the breath of slander never touched, yet captain Sir Richard Bickerton, junior to all of them, is to have the command. This officer cannot be injured by saying, there are many more proper for it: — but as the official ministers are the dependents of the efficient council, so the officers, they employ, must be the dependents of the official ministers. Since America has become independent, they are afraid of every thing, that is supposed to bear the most distant analogy to it. It would be prudent, however, before you precipitate the nation into a continental war in Asia — to reflect a little — to look round for advice. A continental war in Asia may prove as fatal to our settlements there, as the continental war in America has been. I am no party man in oriental politics. Great advantages, under wise regulations, may be derived from the East. I remember Lord Chatham called it, the rising sun of the British empire. But I believe he would never have thought of sending a body of Hanoverians thither. A new system is wanted for that country; the present is impolitic and ruinous. There are men, now in England, who ought to be consulted upon that measure. Mr. Francis, claims the earliest attention; not more for his clear, quick and intelligent conception; his general and indisputable knowledge of all the *present* circumstances of the East; than for his penetration and good sense, upon all occasions; and next to him, is, the author of the *Origin and Authentic Narrative of the Maratta, and Rohilla wars*. Lord Chatham searched for; and obtained, from gentlemen of their upright fairness and candour, those pure fountains of truth, from whence streamed the success of his measures. Those

Those persons who have thought that the war with America was a right measure, must admit, that the Ministers have shewn a total want of capacity in the manner they have carried it on. If the plan was right at Boston, it was wrong to go to New-York. Every succeeding year has been made to contradict and condemn the preceding. The conclusion from which is, that the Ministers are not capable of conducting a war; that they are incompetent to the task; but their ready and implicit acquiescence in all the impolitic measures and extravagant projects of the Efficient Council secures their continuance in office. If the Efficient Council could have accomplished a change of men,* and at the same time have preserved their own existence and power, a change of Ministers would have taken place some time ago. Nor have there been wanting several attempts, with the Principal Characters in opposition, and some very lately, to effect this purpose; but, however specious the arguments made use of, and however tempting the allurements held out, nor however slandered with a craving for places; yet, no arguments could persuade, no allurements seduce, no slanders provoke, the friends of their country to desert that duty, they have uniformly held sacred to their fellow subjects. However honourable every honest mind must think it to serve his country, as soon could Mr. Keppel or Lord Howe trust themselves under Lord Sandwich, as the Marquis of Rockingham or the Earl of Shelburne under the Efficient Council.

When we behold the Duke of Richmond, so highly honoured by, and so well deserving the confidence of his country,

The Duke of Grafton, who felt the weight of that secret influence in precipitating the nation into a civil war, which it was his most anxious wish to prevent,

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* The Lord Advocate of Scotland knows his own affair with the Right Honourable Welbore Ellis.

The Marquis of Rockingham, to whose merits and services in the public cause, all words would be but a faint tribute of acknowledgement and gratitude,

The Earl of Shelburne, (the disciple of Lord Chatham) fitted by nature, by habit, and experience, for the government of an empire,
Lord Camden,

——— When he speaks,
The air, a charter'd libertine, is still,
And the mute wonder lurketh in men's ears,
And steals his sweet, and honied sentences !

Together with many more ; and a long train of illustrious Commoners, not inferior to them in ability, and zeal for their country ; whose high characters and talents have gained them the applause and veneration of all good men,—Can it be a matter of surprize to any Englishman, that the nation is dissatisfied at their not being in the public service ? The nation has a claim to the abilities of such men : they are, if I may be allowed the expression, a sort of public property ; but how greatly must our dissatisfaction encrease, and our indignation be excited, if we contrast them with the ostensible ministers, such as, Lord North, Lord Sandwich, Lord Stormont, Lord Hillsborough, Lord George Germain, &c. in whose hands the empire is crumbling to atoms, is dishonoured at home, dismembered abroad, and insulted every where ?

Lord Bacon says,* “ It is in vain for Princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel concerning persons ;
“ for all matters are as dead images, and the life of the execution of
“ affairs resteth in the advice of good persons. Neither is it enough
“ to consult concerning persons *secundum genera*, as an idea of ma-
“ thematical

* In his Essay of Counsel.

“ thematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shewn in the choice of individuals.”

I will now take my leave of you, Sir, with a short admonition and recommendation. We have seen in these pages proofs sufficient, of the unconstitutional authority of, and the mischiefs occasioned by, the *efficient council*; and of the servile acquiescence, and total incapacity of the *official ministers*. An increase of our misfortunes, must in a short period prove fatal to both. The community cannot bear oppression and disaster, with a surrounding prospect of despair, while the same men govern, without calling for the authors of their calamities. Seize, therefore, the opportunity, which the present hour of suspense affords, to abolish the first, and dismiss the second. When these men are no longer in sight, hope may arise: from other hands we may expect different measures; and the public strength will gain new vigour, by a restoration of lost confidence. Upon an appointment of able men to the great departments in the State, there would instantly blaze a new spirit to retrieve the honour of this country. That cloud of indifference and despondency, with which it is at present overcast, would instantly disappear. Confidence in the ministers, would ensure success to the exertions of the people.

I am, SIR,

Your most humble servant,

Nov. 26, 1781.

An Independent Whig.

In the PRESS.

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